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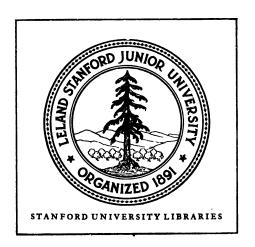
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The North Carolina Indians

James Hall Rand

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THE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SETTLERS

BY

JAMES HALL RAND

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THE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SETTLERS

INTRODUCTION

It is necessary in order to appreciate this study, to turn our thoughts far backward and consider the country that is now North Carolina as it appeared before the coming of the first white men to its shores in 1584.

Towns and cities such as we now have were altogether lacking, nor were there any broad fields. The sound of the factory whistle could not be heard and no highways or railroads intersected the country. No woodman's axe swung against the tall pine and no gun could be had therein to aim at the noble game which bounded away on every side. There was no wheel to utilize the power of the rapid western streams or net to catch the fish which abounded on the eastern coast. There was not a frame house, a metal tool, a book, or a watch within all the limits of what is now North Carolina. Truly, it was the land of no enlightened people.

"Hunter's paradise," "boundless forest," "home of wild things" and similar terms would have been very fitting to apply to it. It was indeed all of these. Game abounded there more plentifully than the weary hunter of present time would hope for. It scarcely needed to be sought after and indeed it was necessary to avoid it often, for bears were then more numerous than coons are now, and far easier to encounter. Hunters at a much later date have written of killing more than a hundred bears in a single season. Deer were as plentiful then as rabbits are now. They inhabited every thicket and formed an easy prey to a skillful hunter. Wild turkeys were bold by virtue of their great numbers and the rivers and coast teemed with fish. The smaller sorts of game such as squirrels, rabbits, and quail were plentiful but so very abundant was larger and nobler game that they were not worth the hunter's attention, being merely

sport for children. Lawson gives the names of seventy-five sorts of game which he found in his travels. He and the party which ran the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina say they saw buffaloes in the far western part of the state.

All of these animals inhabited a vast forest unpathed save by animals and with no highways save the streams. There were noble stately pine, oak, birch, maple, gum, hickory, and other trees in such numbers that the longings of the most ambitious lumberman would have been surpassed. All the whole country indeed was in virgin forest. It was indeed a wild land filled with wild things. The human inhabitants, whom we are now to study, were literally savages. Such was North Carolina in the time of the Indians before the coming of the white man.

Ι

THE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA

A

DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES

The most considerable tribe in the eastern part of the state was the tribe of Tuscaroras. This tribe occupied a vast section in what is now the central part of the eastern half of the state. They were of fierce warlike nature and offered the only serious resistance that the settlers encountered in wresting the territory from the Indians. They had the following sixteen important villages: Haruta, Waqni, Contahnah, Anna Oaka, Conaugh-Kare, Harooka, Una Nauhan, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naurheghne, Oonossura, Tosneoc, Nanawharitse, and Nursurooka. Their fighting population numbered some 1200 men.

Around the Tuscaroras, to the east especially, dwelt a number of smaller tribes. Of the Wacoon Indians there were two towns with a fighting force of about 120,² of the Machapungas, one town with a fighting force of about 30, of the Meherrin Indians one town with a fighting force of about 50, of the

¹Lawson.

²All these estimates are taken from Lawson's History.

Chowan Indians one town with a fighting force of about 15, of the Pasquotank Indians one town with a fighting force of 10, of the Core Indians one town with a fighting force of 50, of the Poeskeit Indians one town with a fighting force of 30, of the Hatteras Indians one town with a fighting force of 16, of of the Nattaway Indians one with a fighting force of 30 the Caranine Indians two towns with a fighting force of 30, of the Neus Indians one town with a fighting force of 16, and of the Pamptico Indians one town with a fighting force of about 20.

In the southeastern part of the state there were several tribes which lived partly in South Carolina and partly in North Carolina, as these states are today. The Sewee Indians formed a small tribe living on the border. The Santees, the Congerees, the Waterees, and the Chickanees lived also in the southern part of this state and the northern part of South Carolina. All were rather small tribes depopulated on the coming of the whites by rum and smallpox.

In the central part of the state there lived a number of tribes none of which was very large. The Waxhaws were a tribe of large tall Indians living in the southern part of the piedmont section. The Esau and Sugaree Indians had many villages further north. The Kadapau Indians lived further west in a hilly country. The Saponas, Achonechys, Keiauwees, Sissipahaus, and Schoccories lived near each other in a region beyond the Tuscaroras and in the northern central part of the state. They had some two or three hundred fighting men.

The Cherokees and Catawbas were the chief tribes in the western part of the state. Only part of the first of these tribes dwelt in territory that is now a part of North Carolina. The tribe was large and inhabited a large section covering the extreme western part of North Carolina, the extreme eastern part of Tennessee, the northwestern part of South Carolina, and the northern part of Georgia. The settlements in North Carolina did not touch these Indians until 1750 and later, and when they became hostile to the whites their operations were directed chiefly against the South Carolina settlers who gave them cause for grievance. The Catawbas were a considerable tribe slightly east of the Cherokees. They were engaged with the

Cherokees in a war with some western Indians when the Carolina colonists pushed their settlements to their territory about 1750. They, too, gave the Carolina settlers little trouble and acted with the Cherokees in the latter's war with South Carolina.

This sketch doubtless omits some tribes, but the most important are here given and located with a fair degree of accuracy. It is impossible to give any definite estimate of the population of the Indians of North Carolina. At the time the estimates included here were made, which was about 1709, smallpox and rum had already decreased considerably the population in many localities, especially those near the white settlements in the extreme eastern part of the state. I would estimate, from my readings, that Indian population within the limits of the present state of North Carolina, before the coming of the first white person to its coast, was about thirty-five thousand.

 \mathbf{B}

CHARACTERISTICS AND MODE OF LIFE OF INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA

The Indians of North Carolina were scarcely excelled, in the shapely form of body, in strength and endurance, in all that goes to make up a physical side of man by any people on earth.

They were well shaped, being clean limbed, free from deformity and inclined to be tall. They always carried themselves very straight unless bent by age. Lawson says he never saw a humpbacked Indian or a dwarf and that cripples were very rare. Their hair and eyes were usually dark, though chestnut hair and brown eyes were not unknown. The men as a rule did not allow hair to grow upon their faces but plucked it all out by the roots. Their eyes were very good, so much so that they could see much better than an untrained white person. Blindness was practically unknown. The teeth of Indians of both sexes and all tribes were yellow from constant smoking of tobacco. This was the only blemish of body habitually found among them.

⁸Lawson and general readings.

They were strong and robust but their strength was not of the intensive sort, that lifts great burdens or does some form of heavy labor, which is gained by periods of severe training. It was of the continuous, indefatigable sort which manifests itself in feats of endurance and which results from a lifetime of vigorous but not laborious exercise such as walking, running, and hunting. The Indians were not weaklings however in tests of lifting, but did not exceed the early settlers in this sort of strength. They did exceed in endurance, being able to dance several nights in succession with extreme alacrity and without failing in re-They danced, by the way, singly or merely spect to wind. holding hands, thereby being able to move all the more ener-They were skilful of hand and sure of foot, never getically. dropping anything and rarely making a false step. They would walk over deep brooks on slender poles without fear and never falling unless perchance the pole should break.

Wigwams or tents made of skins were the habitations of the North Carolina Indians. This was very natural since skins were most accessible to them of the material with which American Indians built habitations. The wigwams were conical in shape, and consisted of skins tied closely together and stretched upon a framework of poles. A small opening was provided at the top in order to let the smoke escape which arose from the fire built in the middle of the dwelling. Occasionally huts were built of cypress or pine bark supplemented by moss. bark was often used for cords for tying together the poles. Other structures were built for various purposes such as storehouses, banqueting halls, and assembly halls which might or might not have windows. The floors of all their buildings were no other than mother earth upon which skins and mats were laid to sit or sleep on. It was said by a contemporary writer⁵ that the Indian dwellings were very hot and close, though not filthy as they would most naturally be expected. At any rate they were very serviceable as habitations, not blowing over easily and keeping the wind, rain, and cold out very well.

The clothing of the Indians of North Carolina was made almost entirely of skins of wild animals, usually deer. The

Lawson.

Indians of North Carolina, however, on account of the mildness of the climate, were not forced to wear much clothing. In summer indeed they wore little more than would constitute a modern track suit with the jacket left off, that is, a skin about the waist for the sake of decency and moccasins to protect the feet from the roughness of the ground. In cold weather the women wore a hairy garment resembling a modern coat on the upper part of their bodies, a flap of skin fastened around their waists, and moccasins. The first two garments were usually made of deerskin. The moccasins were made either of deer or bear-skin. They wore their hair in rolls tied with strings of beads or of deer-skins. The men wore in cold weather a match coat also, a short loin cloth and moccasins. Their clothing was of such a nature as to encumber to the least possible extent the freedom of their movements. Both sexes had robes of deer or bear skin for severe weather. Frequently the coatlike garments were made of feathers with pretty figures wrought in them, and presented a charming appearance. Sometimes they were made of skins of small animals such as rab-The materials were fastened together with bits or squirrels. thread which consisted usually of sinews of deer divided very small. When the settlers came, the Indians sometimes bought coats which they were on important occasions. They did not like to wear trousers because these impeded the freedom of their walking or running movements. When going out on a war expedition they dressed in a manner calculated to excite terror. Their hair they dressed with bear's grease and adorned They then painted their faces with an assortwith feathers. ment of inharmonious colors. For instance, a white ring might be drawn around one eye and a yellow one around the other. Their cheeks and often arms and chests were then bedecked in such a manner that the final make-up was exceedingly hor-Ornaments consisting of shells were frequently worn. They liked bright things so much so that the thing that most attracted the first Indian brought on board the ship of Amadas and Barlowe was a dish of bright tin.

The food of the Indians consisted chiefly of flesh, corn, and fruit. Of fish a great abundance and variety inhabited the

forests and streams. Deer and bear abounded. Of turkeys Lawson speaks of seeing flocks of five hundred and individual specimens that would weigh nearly sixty pounds. Seven kinds of beasts, about forty kinds of birds and forty kinds of fish that are customarily eaten are mentioned in Lawson's history. The Indians ate also wild-cats, pole-cats, panthers, beaver, raccoons, and sometimes snakes; also terrapins and shell-fish. They esteemed young wasps white in the combs. Of vegetables they ate squashes, cucumbers, pulse, and corn. Of fruits they ate nuts, berries, melons, peaches, grapes, and such other wild fruit as was to be had.

Cooking was necessarily of a primitive character since the Indians knew nothing of metallurgy and therefore had no stoves or iron cooking utensils. Boiling was carried on in skins. A number of stones were heated and dropped into a skin of water until it became very hot. The stones were then taken out and the raw articles of food put in. During the process stones were introduced to keep the water hot. Flesh such as fish was broiled by placing on sticks over a fire. Roasting in ashes was a favorite form of cooking. All of this was very crude, yet the Indian women were able to prepare some very palatable meals according to the chroniclers of Indian life. Lawson says that he ate Indian corn bread as white and as good as any he had tasted that was prepared by a white person. The Indians were not as delicate in their tastes as were the white people. They esteemed animals in the embryo6 stage as delicacies and frequently cooked small animals such as squirrels without first extracting the entrails. Lawson says he was not hungry after seeing food thus prepared.

Indian marriages were of a commercial nature. The young man having selected a young maiden either went himself or sent a relative to approach the relatives of the young woman on the subject. The opinion of the woman was secured; for she was not forced into the affair. If she was favorably inclined the negotiations proceeded. The point to be decided was how much the man should pay for the woman inasmuch as the Indians set a money value on the woman which was quite con-

Lawson.

trary to the customs of the whites. The consideration was in terms of skins, trinkets and other Indian valuables, and varied in proportion to the beauty of the bride. The considerations having been paid the two were considered married upon verbal agreement which was sufficiently loose to allow the parties to separate upon any frivolous excuse. The woman was regarded very much as a piece of property. After being bought she could be sold at the will of her husband. If she left him and was taken as wife by another Indian, the latter would have to pay the amount to her first husband that her first husband had originally paid for her. Thus the commercial relation was continued. A man might marry as many women as he could pay for and support, and change as often as he pleased.

The woman's part of the work embraced practically everything save providing game. The Indian brave despised all work save that of hunting. However, there was little to do save to provide game and do the domestic and agricultural work. These last two sorts of labor were limited but must have taken much time and toil since their few tools and instruments were of a rudimentary nature. The work of the woman in detail was cooking, making mats, and baskets, caring for the young children, and doing all the agricultural work. The Indians had no fixed times for eating. The brave would go out to hunt, come back and eat. Thus the squaw cooked continually. The mats which the women wove were made of flags, bullrushes, and coarse grass. In size they were large, usually about five feet wide and eight feet long. Their baskets were of reeds or rushes into which, as was the case with the mats also, weird figures were often worked. The children gave not a great deal of trouble; for while small they were strapped to a board which the brave made, and carried by the squaw on the back or hung on a tree while she was busy. The older children amused them-The agricultural operations of the Indians were limited. The implements consisted of wooden sticks. There were no fields, only small patches here and there around the villages. The land was fertile so that the plant grew very well if it was merely given a start over the weeds.

Lawson.

The work of the brave was not difficult when there was plenty of game, as was usually the case; yet when we consider the weapons that he had, the task assumes its really large proportions. The bow and arrow was the only efficient weapon that the Indian possessed, and these were made with very crude tools. When we consider that the modern young American scarcely learns to hit a barn from a respectful distance in all his practice, we realize the magnitude of the Indian's task of shooting rapidly moving animals. Besides the bow and arrow the Indian had for weapons the tomahawk, the handle consisting of wood, the blade of stone or shell; the club wholly of wood or with a stone head; the spear, a wooden handle with a stone point; and the knife of shell or bone. The brave was often engaged in war, for the tribes fought frequently. The work of the two sexes was on the whole very well divided.

The sickness of the Indians consisted chiefly of wounds, in the dressing of which the Indians acquired some skill. They used in such cases chiefly oil made from acorns and other such nuts, and grease or oil made from bear or deer. In some tribes it was the custom, when a captive was held without being tortured to death, to raise the skin from the fore part of the feet, cut that part off, and pull the skin down over the wound. This made a neat cure and prevented the captive from readily escaping. Most of the Indian doctors were primarily con-They would perform some remarkable operation accompanied by shouting and dancing. If the patient got well they would claim credit for the cure, if he died they would blame the evil spirits. Lawson relates a funny case in which a white man hired an Indian to cure him of some sort of distemper. The Indian went to the woods, gathered herbs and made a concoction which the man drank. This produced a great sweat. The Indian then brought a large rattlesnake and proposed to wrap it about the body of the sick man, to his great consternation. After he had shown that the fangs of the snake had been withdrawn, the Indian was allowed to do as he desired. At first the snake wrapped like a tightly drawn belt about the body of the sick man. Then it gradually relaxed until it ceased to press altogether; whereupon it was found

to be dead. The Indian told the man that he would get well which he did in a short time.8

The Indian funeral and burial in the case of an important man was carried out with much ceremony. The dead body was allowed to lie in state a day and night, after which it was neatly wrapped in coat-like garments which formed the grave clothes. The funeral was then held. The relations of the dead man, together with many of the people of the nation and representatives from the allied tribes gathered solemnly around the corpse and seated themselves on mats. A conjurer then pronounced a funeral oration over the dead in which he recounted the number of scalps taken by the late warrior, the many feats he had performed in hunting, the number and beauty of his wives, extolling the dead for his valor, his nimbleness, his strength, his fleetness, his valuable services to the tribe, and for whatever other esteemed deeds he may have done or qualities which he may have possessed when living. The oration concluded by assuring the assembled persons that the soul of the dead had gone to a land of good hunting, pretty women, and one free from cold, hunger, and fatigue. If other conjurers were present they too praised the dead in much the same strain as the first. The burial was then performed. The body was lowered into a grave five or six feet deep and of sufficient proportions. A framework of poles and brush was built in the grave above and not touching the body. Upon this the earth Thus the body was interred very decently in a vault. After sufficient time had elapsed for the decay of the flesh, the bones were often taken up, cleanly washed, and wrapped in nicely dressed deer skins. They were then interred in a place called Quiogozon, which was the final resting place of the bones of all the kings and great war-captains. Thus the Indians had a tribal burying ground for those whom they adored. This spot was held in reverence by the whole tribe and it was their custom to mourn by the tomb for their honored dead. The tomb was held so sacredly that if the tribe moved the bones were carried also, and were thus preserved for centuries.

The great body of Indians were divided into numerous

^{*}Lawson, P. 131.

This was the natural result of the lack of means of communication, lack of traveling facilities, the simple nature of the Indians, and their fondness for warlike operations. They could communicate only by word of mouth, for they had no system of writing. Their only means of travel was by foot through the forest and in canoes on the streams. they could not go far except by a very extended journey. Yet the Iroquois of New York and New England journeyed as far south as North Carolina and the Tuscaroras of North Carolina were a branch of this nation.⁹ The simple mind of the Indian did not permit of extensive organization or an elaborate form of government. It was very natural that the Indians should be warlike. They lived chiefly by hunting. Their life was a physical struggle with the animals for food and life. tribes fought often among themselves. They could not help it. Their wild and savage nature caused them to delight in war and all its horrors; murder, massacre, and torture in all its most diabolical forms. They surprised, were surprised; masacred, and were massacred at any time without warning. Yet there was frequent communication and even alliance between tribes. Two small tribes would often ally in defense or offense against Also there was intermarriage to some extent. This was limited by the desire of every brave to marry a woman of his own tribe.

A few suggestions concerning the amusements of the Indians would doubtless be interesting and instructive. One of their chief games was played with a set of fifty-one little sticks. ¹⁰ The object was to throw these back and forth very rapidly and tell the number of sticks passed without counting. The Indians acquired much skill at this. A crude sort of game was played with a ball. The Indians took pleasure in playing with peach kernels or persimmon seed. The object was to guess which side should lie up or down. This amusement was somewhat similar to calling or matching coins. They gambled in these games rather recklessly. Cases have been known in which a person lost everything he possessed and then gambled himself into

Martin.
Lawson.

slavery.¹¹ In this condition he cheerfully remained until bought out by friends. Victories and harvest times were celebrated with feasts and dancing, accompanied by the deafening noise, not music, of their kettledrums. They sang wild inharmonious songs composed by persons appointed for the purpose, but kept together marvelously well. Their feasts were in celebration of the corn harvest or some victory gained over another tribe. The latter was likely to be accompanied by an inhuman torture of some poor captive in which they took fiendish delight. The point in dancing was to see who could appear the most hideous, make the most energetic motions, and hold out the longest. They were very proficient in their type of dancing. Their revelry would often continue for days and nights together until all had been exhausted.

The Indians were a religious people. They had gods whom they had much faith in. Credit was given to the Good Spirit for a bountiful harvest, for victory in war, and success in the chase. The Evil Spirit was blamed for a poor harvest and poor success in war and the chase. Thanks were given to the Good Spirit for blessings and sacrifices were made to both spirits. They believed in a hereafter which took the shape of an ideal hunting land in which there was no sickness, fatigue, hunger, or want; but, good hunting and pretty women.

The money, knowledge of poison, and language of the Indians are interesting. The Coast Indians had a sort of money consisting of a certain kind of carved shell. All of the red men bartered with almost any thing that had value from squaws to beads. The Indians were well versed in the use of poison. The practice of it was a great crime, however, and the guilty party was publicly put to death in the most cruel manner. Their language was guttural in nature, abounding in vowels. Other features of Indian life would, like those already given, merely illustrate the wild and savage type of people the Indians were.

The foregoing sketch has been designed with the intention of bringing out the characteristic features of Indian life and thus representing the characteristics of the Indians themselves. They were essentially simply savages. Their clothing, dwellings,

¹¹Lawson.

implements, and tribal state, are evidences of their simplicity and backwardness. Their savagery was amply displayed in their treatment of captives and in their manner of living. Captives taken in war were usually tortured by cutting and burning. Imagine a man standing surrounded by a mob of howling, dancing human devils. His scalp is dangling at the belt of some one of them. In his naked and bleeding body hundreds of sharpened lightwood splinters are sticking. They are lighted and the devils dance around their victim, suffering intense agony, in fiendish glee. Lawson gives us this picture, and he himself suffered such a fate. 12 But no moral blame, only ignorance, is to be charged to the Indians for such crimes. They were inured to suffering and hardships and it was natural to Indians bore such torture with great fortitude and it was very difficult to wring a cry of pain from them, even with the severest tortures.

In disposition and temperament they were subject to both extremes, sincere friendship and deadly hatred. Hence the expression, "to be like an Indian," meaning, never forgetting a kindness or forgiving an injury. We have an excellent illustration of the depth of the friendship of Indians when treated kindly in the relations of William Penn with the Pennsylvania Indians. This case is so well known that it needs no comment, only to say that what was true of the Pennsylvania Indians was applicable to most all the original inhabitants of the United They respected each other's rights to such an extent that they rarely quarreled. The white settlers were, in the main, well treated until they began to encroach upon the rights of and injure the Indians. Lawson was very kindly entertained all during his long trip in the territory of the North Carolina Indians. No injury was offered him until he had almost regained the white settlements when an arrow was shot at him by some Tuscaroras with whom the settlers had had unpleasant relations. When an Indian or body of Indians conceived hatred towards any one they were not content until the person was put to death by the severest torture. And in attaining this vengeance no treachery or deception was too mean or base. They indeed

¹²Colonial Records. Vol. 1.

considered everything fair in war. The Tuscarora massacre is an excellent illustration of their cunning and treachery. These savages came into the settlements and mingled with their victims, receiving kindness from them on the day before the terrible event. They did not consider it any harm to steal from the white people and this was a frequent cause of bad relations between the two races. The Indians loved and hated with a sincere love and undying hatred as only one having an Indian nature could do.

Intellectually the Indian was puerile, unprogressively puerile. They were making practically no progress in civilization and had been in their savage state for no one knows how long. any rate they were some 2,000 years behind European civilization. An incident like the following¹³ will better interpret their childishness than several pages of bare assertions. A certain tribe of Indians came to believe that they were being cheated by the merchants with whom they traded. And so having observed that the trading ships always came from a certain direction, they decided that they could, by going in that direction, trade direct with the consumers to a much better advantage. A great amount of furs were collected and loaded upon their frail canoes. cockle-shells put out to sea, their crews very joyful and con-But soon a storm arose, overturned the greater part of the boats, spilling the cargoes and drowning the occupants. The remainder, in a sad plight, were picked up by a trading vessel, carried to the West Indies and sold into slavery. ended the fond calculations of those childish minds. The will power of the Indians was not strong. This trait is seen in the women in their inability to resist sexual temptation. worthy of notice that men were blamed as being stronger-willed and the tempters and women pitied as being weak and unable to resist temptation. This weakness of will is seen in the men in their inability to withstand the temptation of liquor. Indian merchants, having bought rum to trade with, were frequently unable to withstand the temptation of their own wares and drank all of their fire-water up before arriving at their trading place. Again, the Indian always measured liquor in their

¹³ Lawson.

mouths, closely watched the measurer to see that he swallowed none which was frequently the case.

Compared to his white contemporary the Indian was superior physically except in slow ox strength. Intellectually, however, he was just so far inferior as the bow and arrow is inferior to the colonial rifle as a weapon, as an animal skin is inferior to woven cloth for garments, as a wigwam is inferior to stately frame and stone houses for dwellings, and as a language not possessing a system of writing is inferior to one already possessing masterpieces of literature. The Indian was no match for the white man in the struggle for life. His downfall was certain, and it has formed a great historical illustration of retrogression through lack of mental endowments. The Indian could not accept the life of the new comers. It would have meant the making up of a backwardness of centuries, the changing of his very nature in a lifetime. It was necessary to conquer, which he could not do, or perish, which he did. This, the decline of the Indians in North Carolina down to the Revolution, is the theme of the second and most important part of this study.

II

RELATIONS OF THE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA WITH THE SETTLERS

A

FIRST VOYAGE TO ROANOKE

In July 1684, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, in command of two ships sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, landed, the first of any white men, on the shore of what is now North Carolina. They disembarked on Roanoke Island and for three days they saw no inhabitant. On the third day they saw a canoe in which were three Indians. One of these landed on the island, was accosted by the English, and taken on board one of the ships. He was given presents which he received with signs of appreciation. After inspecting both ships he departed to his canoe, put out into the sound, and fished. In a half hour he

had loaded his canoe with fish which he divided between the two ships.¹

On the next day Granganimeo brother to Wingina, king of that territory, came to visit the ships, accompanied by a large number of Indians. He was kindly treated by the captains. Later small parties of Englishmen went among the Indians and were treated with the greatest kindness. The vessels remained off Roanoke several days during which time visits were exchanged with caution on the part of the whites and freely on the part of the Indians.² Trades were made to the advantage of the whites but which gave satisfaction to the Indians. The whites departed with the opinion that the Indians were the kindest, most generous people inhabiting the best country in the world. Two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese, were taken to England.³

On June 26, 1685, Sir Richard Grenville reached the coast with 108 colonists. These were left in charge of Ralph Lane. After a short time an Indian stole a silver cup because of its bright lustre. Lane, unable to recover the cup, punished the Indians severely by burning villages and cutting fields of growing corn. The Indians became hostile. Lane attacked them, killing a number, including their King Wingina. His supplies soon ran short and his situation became so critical that he abandoned the settlement when Sir Francis Drake appeared, offering to transport the colony back to England.

Shortly thereafter Sir Richard Grenville arrived with supplies. He left fifteen men and returned to England.

In 1587, John White appeared with 115 colonists. Of the fifteen left by Grenville only a single skeleton was found. They were doubtless killed by the enraged savages. White after six weeks returned to England and his colony became the famous lost colony. No one knows what became of the colonists. The Indians were sufficiently enraged to massacre them. This was Raleigh's last attempt at settlement in North Carolina. The relations between the settlers and the Indians, at first so friendly, had become bitterly hostile and augured ill for future settlers.

Old South Leaflets. Vol. IV. No. 92. Old South Leaflets. Vol. IV. No. 92. Old South Leaflets Vol. IV. No. 92. Old South Leaflets Vol. IV. No. 92. Old South Leaflets Vol. V. p. 398.

 \mathbf{B}

OTHER SETTLEMENTS AND THE WINNING OF NORTH CAROLINA FROM THE INDIANS

There are several reasons why Raleigh's attempt to establish a colony upon the shore of North Carolina had failed and why it was impracticable to establish a colony there. The coast was dangerous, the country sandy, and unsuited to varied agricultural crops; and the Indians had become hostile. Moreover, a good spot of land well fitted for settling upon, such as could be found further in the interior, could not be reached by ship as was the case in Virginia. Thus it was that when another colony was sent out in 1607 it was instructed to go elsewhere, and North Carolina was settled not by an expedition sent out from England for the purpose, but by an offshoot from another colony.

In 1653 Roger Greene led a little band of persons from the Virginia colony and founded a settlement on the banks of the Chowan river. Nine years later George Durant led another band of settlers to a place now known as Durant's Neck, in Perquimans county. Durant, who was a Quaker, bought his bit of land from the Indians as did Penn.⁵ It was not known whether or not Greene recompensed the Indians for the territory that he took possession of. These were the first permanent settlements in North Carolina and with them the conquest of North Carolina from the Indians was begun.

In 1660 an expedition of colonists from New England landed at the mouth of the Cape Fear river. The purpose of this colony was to raise cattle. But they found the country dry, sandy, and unfit for this business. In order to recompense themselves for the losses they had sustained, they requested the Indians of the neighborhood to let them send their children to England to be taught to read and write. They were permitted to embark a shipload of children for England, who were shipped to the West Indies and sold into slavery. This colony left the country before the children were scheduled to come back.

During the ten years following the settlement of Greene's

⁵C. R. Vol. I. ⁶Williamson, Vol. I. p. 95.

colony a great many colonists came from Virginia and other settlements to settle in North Carolina. The relations with the Indians continued to be amicable, the Indians moving out to make room for the new comers, and not getting angry about it. There was no government save a local government and the settlements were thus allowed to grow without restraint. In 1663 the province was granted to the Lords Proprietors. The Settlement about Albemarle Sound was organized as the colony of Albemarle and divided into three precincts. In 1676 the Proprietors adopted John Locke's Grand Model system and instructed the governor to re-organize the colony in accordance with it. But the people did not like this cumbersome mediaeval relic and it did not succeed.

Meanwhile another settlement in North Carolina had been attempted. Sir John Yeamans had established a colony on the Cape Fear river in 1665. Under his prudent management the settlement numbered in a few years after its establishment about eight hundred people. Land was sold at cheap rates, the people were subject to little restriction, and the good will of the Indians was secured. Yeamans, however, was appointed governor of the colony in what is now South Carolina.8 He accordingly left the colony on the Cape Fear which found itself without a wise Soon Charleston was founded and the whole colony went to settle there, leaving the Cape Fear region again a wilderness in the hands of the red men.9

No large body of colonists came to North Carolina after this for many years. In 1707 Christopher de Graffenried, a Swiss baron, led a considerable body of German Palatines and Swiss immigrants to a spot on the Trent river where New Bern now is, in which section he had been granted 10,000 acres for settle-Some French Huguenots under the leadership of Phillipe de Richebourg settled near Pamlico Sound in 1691.

There had been much dissension and strife in the colony but it had nevertheless grown steadily. The Culpepper Rebellion was the source of a little struggle. Culpepper was finally

⁷Williamson, Vol. I. p. 114. ⁸Williamson, Vol. I. p. 100. ⁹Ashe, 170. ¹⁰Ashe, 146.

arrested and sent to England where he was acquitted of the charge of treason. The Quakers frequently protested against taking oaths to hold office. Also, the whole body of settlers often complained about the quit rents, especially under the Grand Model constitution formulated by Locke. In spite of all this the colony grew and prospered so that it soon became an important one, offering excellent opportunities for new settlers. No large body of colonists came save Graffenried's; but nevertheless settlers came frequently in small numbers. By the year 1675, when the colony in northern Carolina was very small, nearly all of the original thirteen colonies had been established and some of them were already in a thriving condition. Thus it was that this section, being among the last to be settled, was a favorable place for those who in other colonies were unsuited with their location. A great many of the people who finally settled in North Carolina came from Virginia, especially during the odious rule of Sir William Berkeley over that colony. Quite a number of settlers came from the New England colonies, with which the northern Carolinians traded extensively.

At the outbreak of the Tuscarora war, which was in 1711, there were two distinct sections of settlements in the colony. The more populous of these was the first about the Albemarle Sound. It consisted of a large number of rather widely scattered groups of colonies divided into three precincts: Pasquotank, Perquimans and Chowan. The population of this section was between 1,500 and 2,000 people counting all non-original inhabitants. The second section of settlements was around the Neuse and Tar rivers and between these two streams. It was composed of a population of about 1,000 or 1,200 persons, a majority of which were Swiss peasants, Palatines, and French Huguenots recently come from Europe. This section was not divided into precincts until later and was known as Bath County, the northern section being known as Albemarle County.

Up to the time of the Tuscarara war the settlers and the Indians lived, for the most part, harmoniously, the one in the forest and the other in the clearings. The Indians received the white people in the forest with kindness and hospitality becoming to more highly civilized people. The white people suffered

the Indians to come into their clearings and treated them kindly, giving presents of trinkets. The settlers naturally held the Indians in some contempt since they realized that they were superior to the red men intellectually and were independent of them. The Indians naturally respected the whites; since they were dependent on the white people for a great many valuable articles such as guns, knives, hatchets, and other such instruments. Also after once tasting the white man's "water of life" the weak minded Indian would do almost anything for another mouthful of it. The white people thus assumed a position of superiority over the Indians without objection on their part.

In commercial and social relations this position of superiority was apparent. The white traders sold the Indians bad goods at prices that would have been high for goods of the best quality. Guns were often sold them of such a sort that they would not shoot true because of a crooked barrel. 11 Bad rum and cheap goods were sold for good mink, deer, and other sorts of skins. The trade was so profitable that a fine of 10,000 pounds of tobacco was made the penalty for a person of another colony to trade with the neighboring Indians. 12 Also, Indians were sometimes held in slavery by white settlers. This was not frequent for the Indians did not make good slaves, being neither tractable nor by nature willing to toil. Furthermore, the white people who traded with the Indians frequently had Indian concubines. The Indians did not object to but rather favored this relationship. It aided the trader in learning the language and in introducing himself into the good graces of the tribe. Indians who had committed crimes against whites were promptly demanded, usually given up, and punished severely. Thus the Indians occupied the position of inferior beings in the dealings between the two races.

Two methods were employed by the settlers in driving the Indians back towards the west as they themselves advanced. One was by crowding, the other was by fighting. The crowding method was quiet, almost unconsciously carried on, involving scarcely any struggle or complaint; yet it was effectual. It is

¹¹Lawson. ¹²C. R.

best illustrated by the method of the Indians who invited one of the white brothers to sit upon a log with him. The Indian then crowded against the white man, asking him at the same time to move on. The white man did so, the process was repeated, and soon the white man was at the end of the log. The Indians were at a great disadvantage in the respect that as the settlers advanced, making clearings and leading a bustling life, the wild creatures of the woods upon which the Indians were almost totally dependent for food retreated. And thus the Indians were obliged to retreat also, so that the settlers had then only to drive the game back in order to drive the Indians. When they made a stand and became hostile the whites took up arms.

The Indians were crowded westward in North Carolina down until the Tuscarora war without serious resistance on their part. There were naturally a number of murders on both sides as adventurous settlers built their cabins in the territory of the Indians from which they had not yet retired. The quarrel with the Meherrin Indians who lived on the Virginia border was the most serious prior to the Tuscarora war. This trouble began by one Lewis Williams¹³ settling in the territory of the Meherrin Indians and allowing his horse to eat the corn of the He was assaulted by some of the maltreated Indians, but was not fatally injured. Immediately a force of about fifty settlers captured a number of the hostile Indians and confined them for two days in a little fort so that they nearly died of heat, thirst, and hunger. The tribe was not large and appealed to the authorities of Virginia for protection. A dispute then arose as to whether the white man Lewis Williams was in the territory belonging to the Indians, or whether the Indians had encroached upon the domain of the white settlers. The Carolinians claimed that the Indians belonged beyond a neighboring river, Nottaway or Weyonoke; while the Virginians and Indians claimed that the settlers had entered the territory belonging to the Indians. The truth about the matter was that the settler had been sold his tract of land by the Carolina authorities with the understanding that the Indians should move on, thus ignoring the claim of the Indians entirely. No serious results ensued; though for a long

¹⁸C. R. I. p. 659.

time the matter was disputed and there was much ill feeling among all the parties concerned. This and the boundary line dispute was probably the cause of the hesitancy and slowness which the Virginia colony displayed in lending aid to avenge the Tuscarora massacre which we now come to.

Hitherto the settlers had encountered only small tribes that gave way easily upon crowding. But by the year 1711 they had advanced so that they were now treading upon the heels of a tribe or family of tribes as warlike, cruel, and cunning as any in the United States. Their numbers were considerable also. They could muster twelve or fifteen hundred fighting men.¹⁴ They inhabited a great section of territory bordering and north of the Neuse river. They were directly in the path of the advancing settlers and were not of a nature to be encroached upon or to surrender their lands without a struggle.

There were two causes or influences that provoked the Tuscaroras to go on the war-path. These were unrest at the encroachments of the whites and the civil dissensions of the latter. There was general unrest among all the tribes neighboring to This was caused by the encroachments of the latter, the fire-water brought among the Indians, the movements of the tribes which the settlers were crowding upon, and the fear that arose in the Indians lest they should lose their hunting grounds. Also, John Lawson, a surveyor and naturalist, and Baron de Graffenried made some explorations in the territory of the Tuscaroras and surveyed some of it. Lawson was engaged in this work for the purpose of getting material for historical and descriptive sketches. However, it excited suspicions among the Indians and the party was taken and held in captivity. Meanwhile the Cary Rebellion was going on in the colony. Governor Hyde, the newly arrived governor, was getting the best of Cary and his party. Upon this turn of the affair John Porter, one of the leading adherents of Cary, is reported to have sought aid for his faction from the Tuscarora Indians. plan was to have the Indians massacre Hyde and his adherents. This may not have been true but it is very well established that the Indians learned of the strife in the colony and realized

¹⁴Moore p. 35.

that the time was opportune to annihilate the encroaching palefaces and save their hunting grounds. A great council was called at which the matter was warmly debated. Finally it was decided that the Tuscaroras should take the war-path and all save Tom Blount and his followers acquiesced in the decision. Blount ever remained a friend to the whites. As a preliminary step Lawson and a negro servant were stripped, bound to a tree, and their bodies were made bristling with lightwood splinters which were set on fire. Graffenried escaped this awful death by pleading that he was king of the pale-faces and the great spirit would be angry if a king should be put to death. 16

The Tuscaroras prepared to go immediately upon the warpath and take the settlers by surprise. Their forces were gathered together. These consisted of all the warriors of the Tuscarora tribe save Tom Blount and his followers. The Core Indians had joined the Tuscaroras when Lawson was burned, a quarrel between Lawson and a Core Indian was a determining factor in his fate.¹⁷ Also a few small scattered tribes were induced to join the conspirators. The estimates of the total strength of the Indians concerned in the massacre vary. De Graffenried, who was a prisoner among the Indians, says the total strength was about 500. It was hardly under this number and may have been as much as 1,000. The Indians collected outside the settlements on the twenty-first of September and on the morning of the twenty-second made the attack which was totally unexpected by the colonists and which they were unprepared for. It was well-planned and well-executed. The settlers did not live in compact, well protected towns. The individual families were loosely scattered in little groups over a wide area in proportion to the number of settlers in the colony. No sentinels were posted. The colonists lived and acted just as if they considered themselves in no danger at all of a sudden attack, as indeed they did. Furthermore, the plan was so well and swiftly executed that no news of it reached the settlers beforehand other than that Cary's followers were trying to secure the aid of the Indians to massacre Governor Hyde's

¹⁵De Graffenreid's Narrative. ¹⁶De Graffenreid's Narrative. ¹⁷De Graffenreid's Narrative.

adherents. And the savages did not distinguish between Cary and Hyde adherents. All that were unable to escape were massacred or carried into captivity.

The total number of persons massacred or carried into captivity is estimated at between 125 and 200. There was a loss of 60 or more in Albemarle County and 75 or more in Bath County. As a rule men were massacred and women and children were carried into captivity. However many women and children were slain. The loss to the Indians was perhaps half a dozen. The deed was consummated with frightful barbarity, as was characteristic of the nature of these savages, women being in some cases impaled. The following is a pitiful letter from one of the survivors informing a friend of the massacre:

26th October 1711.

Loving Friend.

I suppose thee hast heard of ye mastere we had here with ye Indians, they have kill'd about 100 people and taken prisoners abt 20 or 30, we are forc'd to keep garisons and watch and guard day and night wch I suppose, you have it all at large before now.

Thy reall friend

Ffarnifull Green. 19

The Indians were pursued almost immediately, but so prostrated was the colony that the force was very small, numbering only sixty or seventy-five men. It met a force of about 300 Indians in a little encounter in which many of the settlers were wounded and one was killed. The leader thought it best to retreat.

Active measures were taken to prevent recurrence of a similar disaster and aid was promptly asked of the neighboring colonies. Governor Hyde of North Carolina requested the government of Virginia to send immediately 200 men, with the promise that they would be provided for. The Virginia Council authorized the governor to send the number of men called for. They were collected and about ready to march, but so slowly had the Virginia Council authorized the governor to send the number of men called for.

Taken from Colonial Records.
 De Graffenreid's Narrative.

ginians acted that they were entirely too late. The officials in South Carolina responded promptly. About 700 Yemassee Indians with some fifty whites under the command of Colonel Barnwell marched in a very short time to the assistance of the sister colony. This force composed almost the entire avenging party; for in the prostrated colony only a small force of white settlers could be raised, inasmuch as a large part of the population were Quakers who would not fight. Nevertheless the council voted £4,000 for meeting the expenses of the campaign.²⁰

Finally in the early part of the year 1712 the avenging force, numbering about 1,000 men, of whom at least threefourths were Indians, marched into the Tuscarora country. The Indians had built a rough sort of a fort some distance west of Newbern and there had taken a stand with their women, children and captives to await the attack of the settlers. This was made at first in such a disorderly manner that it was ineffectual. Then some small cannon were brought up and directed against the structure, which immediately began to crumble. But for some reason not clearly understood,—De Graffenried said that it was through fear of killing or causing the Indians to kill the white captives.—Barnwell commanded his men to desist from the attack after which he concluded a treaty of peace. Barnwell was severely criticised for not pursuing his attack and making an end of the business then and there, which he might easily have done. However his conduct is excusable if twenty or thirty white women and children were in the fort, and De Graffenried who gives a very good account of the affair, says that such was the According to De Graffenried the prisoners were set free and the Tuscaroras agreed to keep the peace.

In returning to South Carolina the Indians under Barnwell captured a number of Core Indians who were the allies of the Tuscaroras and later sold them into slavery,²¹ thus violating the treaty made by Barnwell. They had engaged in the expedition with the expectation of taking a number of prisoners whom they should be allowed to sell and would thus gain considerable profit

²⁰C. R. I. p. 837-839. ²¹Ashe, 187-188.

out of the expedition. This breach of the treaty incensed the Tuscaroras so that they again became hostile.

Governor Hyde had died just after the first campaign and Colonel Thomas Pollock had taken his place. He immediately sent messages to Virginia and South Carolina asking for aid. Virginia as before was so slow in responding that her aid was This negligence on the part of Virginia was due in part to a misunderstanding that the governors of the two colonies had in regard to supplies for the Virginia troops, and partly to the unfriendly feeling between the two colonies engendered by the Meherrin Indian quarrel and the rancorous dispute over the boundary line. However, South Carolina sent troops very promptly as before. Colonel James Moore came with 800 or 900 Indians and about fifty white settlers. These with about 200 of the North Carolina settlers went out to finish the business. The Tuscaroras were encountered in another fort which they had built a short distance from the first. The fort was assaulted and, after some sharp fighting, taken. Some 250 or 300 Indians were killed; about 500 were taken prisoners and a few escaped. The loss on the Carolina side was about fifty killed and 110 The prisoners were given to the Yemassee Indians who sold them into slavery.

Meanwhile a part of the great tribe of Tuscaroras was fighting in behalf of the settlers. Tom Blount, as we have before mentioned, did not take part in the massacre. He was induced by a guarantee of peaceful relations and presents to help the colonists against the Indians. As he did not wish to make war upon his own tribesmen he was assigned the task of punishing those tribes of Indians which had aided the Tuscaroras in the massacre. These were the Cores, Mattamuskeets, and Catechnes. He directed his warriors against these tribes and subdued them quite satisfactorily.

The great and powerful Tuscarora tribe having been crushed with the exception of the peaceful Blount faction, there no longer remained any dangerous tribe near the settlements. With the passing of the Tuscaroras the safety of the colony was assured from a general massacre such as it had experienced. There remained now in close proximity to the colonists only

scattered remnants of tribes formerly powerful and dangerous. Of the Cores, Mattamuskeets, and Catechnes a small number were hiding in the eastern swamps. All the other tribes of eastern North Carolina such as the Chowan, Machapunga, Meherrin, Pasquotank, Nottaway, and Hatterras had so degenerated that they were harmless except to cut off outlying families. The remnant of the Tuscaroras that escaped Colonel Moore's force²² departed from North Carolina and went to join their brethren the Iroquois about the great lakes. Blount and his following were assigned hunting grounds near the mouth of the Neuse but later becoming dissatisfied with their location were allowed to move to the bank of the Roanoke river. A vast section of the heart of North Carolina was thus laid open for settlement.

The Indians having now disappeared to such a large extent from the eastern part of the state, it is appropriate to consider what had become of them. Some few had retreated further west but this does not account for the great number of Indians that once resided in the limits of North Carolina. Lawson wrote that not one-sixth of the number of Indians which inhabited the eastern section of the state fifty years prior to the time he made his trip through Northern Carolina still lived in those same regions. They were simply dead, the extinguishing process had begun and was going forward rapidly. The Indian race had come into contact with a new influence; a new environment had been created around those with which the settlers had come in con-Also, the red men being totally different in habits, customs, manners, ways of living, could not abruptly adapt themselves to the life of industry which the settlers led, and being vastly inferior necessarily must succumb.

The chief influence which decimated the Indians were war, rum, disease, and degeneration of the race which resulted in increase in death rate and decrease in birth rate. They fought frequently and with much slaughter, seldom sparing a warrior who fell into their hands. Furthermore, the Indians never presented a united opposition to the settlers, but fought among themselves and even aided the settlers in extinguishing other tribes. They were not sufficiently intelligent and broadminded

²²Ashe, p. 191.

to see that they must fall when fighting in their desultory and divided manner against the settlers, united and persistent. Occasionally some Indian prophet had a vision of uniting all the tribes for driving the whites from America, but never could the Indians of one province even, be got to fight together in a systematic manner. In North Carolina during the Tuscarora war Tom Blount and his followers were in opposition to their own tribe. The Yeamassee Indians formed three-fourths of the force that conquered the Tuscaroras, little knowing that their own tribe would be broken in five years. And doubtless if there had been any strength in the Tuscaroras they would probably have gladly assisted against the Yemassees. Such was the way in which the Indians really conquered themselves.

A second great influence which diminished the Indian population was disease, especially smallpox. The Indians lived an unsystematic, intemperate, and unsanitary sort of life. took little care of themselves, keeping well by virtue of much healthful, strenuous, outdoor exercise. They had some valuable knowledge of medicinal herbs and of treating wounds; but with all this their medical ability was very crude and limited. They lived by keeping well rather than by any ability to make a sick person well again. Thus when the scourge of smallpox brought by the whites got among them its effects were similar to that of the pestilence which devastated Europe in the fourteenth century. The Indians knew not how to cure it or even keep it from spreading. It is said that taken with it they would frequently rush into a stream and drown themselves through hopeless despair. This disease is said to have literally decimated many tribes.

A third important influence was rum. This evil was introduced among them by the first white people with whom they came in contact, for it was inseparable from the adventurers of those times. Amadas and Barlowe gave the first Indian they met a little and wrote that he liked it very much. Once having tasted it, a craving for it which the weak-willed Indians could not withstand seized them. They called it firewater and the more it burned them the more they desired it. Indian merchants, as mentioned before, very frequently drank all their

firewater before getting to their customers. So universal became this habit among them that rum became a leading article carried by the Indian traders. Great numbers debased and shortened their lives by this method.

Furthermore, the race degenerated in other ways from their contact with the whites. By it the Indians became unable to pursue their former strenuous life. sary to the type of life they led. They weakened their bodies and corrupted that which they possessed of intelligence. They were unceasingly harassed by the whites and frequently forced to change their hunting grounds. This placed them in an unnatural position which resulted in restlessness and discontent. Their bearing with the whites was that of an inferior race, very galling to old warriors who had been accustomed to respect no one. Thus the Indians degenerated in body and mind so that they did not multiply as formerly. And thus the Indian population diminished by war, disease, effect of rum, and failure to reproduce themselves rapidly due to degeneration of the race, melted away on coming in contact with the white settlers.

With the destruction of the Tuscarora tribe the strength of the Indians of the eastern half of the colony was broken. By that conquest the settlers gained a firm hold which was never afterwards seriously disputed. Thereafter the Indians did not require to be driven, they allowed themselves to be crowded westward. Their population dwindled rapidly and the surviving Indians, retreating as the settlers advanced, populated the country not as thickly as it had been before the whites ever came to North Carolina. Henceforth the story must consist chiefly of the settling by newcomers of the interior part of the province.

Between the time of the Tuscarora war and the date at which the province came under royal control the population slightly more than tripled itself, although the great wave of immigration did not by any means reach its height. The population in 1728, at which time all the proprietors except Lord Granville surrendered their rights to the crown, was about 10,000²³

²³Lawson, p. 134.

compared with 3,000 in 1711 at the time of the Tuscarora war. This proportionately large increase was due to the opening of the country and to the flow of emigrants from Europe and more thickly settled provinces. Between the dates above mentioned the following new precincts had been added: in Albemarle County, Bertie and Tyrrell to the existing Currituck, Chowan, Perquimans, and Pasquotank; in Bath County, Beareford, Hyde, Craven, and Carteret had been created; in Clarendon County only one precinct had been created, New Hanover. The population was distributed as follows: in Albemarle County there were about 7,000 persons, in Bath County about 2,500, and in Clarendon County only some 500 persons. The population had mostly come by way of Virginia or to the seaports of the northern section and had stopped where they first arrived. Only four towns had legal establishment when the colony became These were Edenton in the precinct of a royal province. Chowan, Bath in that of Beaufort, New Bern in that of Craven, and Beaufort in the precinct of Carteret. All quite small then and all with the exception of New Bern have never grown large. In 1727 the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia was run; and when the colony became a royal province in 1728, North Carolina and South Carolina were officially set up as independent provinces.

During this time the few Indians remaining near the settlements, while unable to be dangerous, were constantly mischievous and troublesome. Thus when the Yemassee Indians of South Carolina made war upon the South Carolinians the Indians of North Carolina sympathetically showed signs of hostility. There were several white persons murdered by individual Indians during this period. One George Seneka was tried, convicted, and hanged for the murder of a woman and her two children. Such cases were dealt with by civil rather than military authority. The tribes in their weak condition dared not refuse to hand over one of their number charged with a crime. On one occasion the Tuscaroras under Blount were charged with hindering an Indian slave from returning to his master. Blount appeared before the court in person and succeeded in clearing his people from any suspicion of hostility.

On two separate occasions the Meherrin and Nansemond Indians on the Virginia border line complained of molestation from the settlers and the settlers of hostilities on the part of the Indians. The trouble arose over a territorial dispute. The Indians complained of encroachments by the whites and the whites of the massacre of two families. Surveyors were sent to determine the lands of the Indians. It is doubtless true that the whites were very frequently the aggressors in these disputes. They had no sympathy for the Indians, desiring only that they move westward and allow the land they occupied to be settled. On one occasion Blount had trouble with his subjects and appealed to the authorities of the province for a proclamation to them bidding them submit to his rule. Blount and his followers were moved at their own request from their reservation in Bath County to another grant in northern Albemarle. done to shield them from the attacks of some hostile Indians of the southern part of the state. The Indians had now become very few in the neighborhood of the settlements and the settlers had not pushed westward sufficiently far to compete with the Cherokees and Catawbas for their lands.

During the period between the time when the colony became a province and the time of Governor Gabriel Johnston's death in 1752 the province made great strides westward. The population increased from 10,000 to above 45,000.24 Ten new counties had been formed, namely: Edgecombe, 1733; Bladen and Onslow, 1754; Beaufort and Northampton, 1741; Johnston and Granville, 1746; Duplin and Anson, 1749; and Orange in 1751. Previous to this period there were very few whites other than English in North Carolina. Some Swiss, Palatines, and French Huguenots had settled on the Trent river in 1707 but During this period considerable numbers of these were all. Scotch and Scotch-Irish immigrants began to arrive in the province. The people of Scotland had rallied to the standard of Bonnie Prince Charles and after the battle of Culloden were given the alternative of execution or emigration. Thus a great many of these people left Scotland about this time, considerable numbers coming to North Carolina. They settled in the pro-

²⁴Martin, Vol. II. p. 59.

vince from Duplin County to the territory occupied by the Cherokees and Catawbas in the western part of the state. A large body of Highlanders²⁵ settled in 1746 about the Cape Fear River where the city of Fayetteville is now. With them was Flora McDonald, who aided Prince Charles to escape from Scotland after the battle of Culloden. This was the settlement, that being strongly attached to the king in the beginning of the Revolution, sent a regiment of Highlanders towards Wilmington which was defeated at Moore's Creek Bridge.

The Scotch-Irish began to arrive in North Carolina as early as 1736, coming over to better their economic condition and settling all along the rivers of the middle section of the province. They composed at this time the bulk of the population in the frontier western districts and pushed out beyond other settlements into new territory in which new counties were soon to be formed.

During this period the Indians of North Carolina gave little trouble. The settlers had by 1752 just begun to make settlements on the border of the territory occupied by the Cherokee and Catawba Indians. It seems that these Indians were engaged at this time and for several years after in conflicts with Indians living farther westward. The French had forts on the Mississippi River at this time and were allied with the Indians of that section. It is possible that the French incited the western Indians against the Cherokees and Catawbas who were never allies of the French.

The Indians had by this time disappeared almost completely from the extreme eastern settlements. They are scarcely mentioned in the records of eastern counties after 1730. At the close of this period there were about 300 Tuscaroras, 20 Mattamuskeets, 30 Saponas, 20 Meherrins, and a few others among the eastern settlements.²⁶ Some people of mixed blood lived in the southeastern part of the colony and probably were the people later designated Croatans.

In the next period between Governor Johnston's death in 1752 and the outbreak of the Revolution representatives of a

²⁵Foote's Sketches, p. 125. ²⁶Martin, Appendix XXVII.

new nationality came into North Carolina together with large additions to those already there. This new class of people were the Moravians, who came from Pennsylvania chiefly. In the year 1751, Gottlieb Spangenburg, a bishop of the United Brethren or Moravians, entered into negotiations for the purchase of a tract of land on which to make a settlement. The purchase of 98,925²⁷ acres from the agents in charge of Lord Granville's grant was completed in 1753. In that same year twelve unmarried men came from Pennsylvania and settled there. territory was called Wachovia, after an estate belonging to the founder of the sect, Count Zinzendorf. Other Moravians soon followed and a town called Bethabara was founded. the town of Bethany was established. The population of the former was, in 1765, 88, and of the latter, 78. The town of Salem was laid out in 1765. These together²⁸ with Friedberg, Friedland and Hope were the villages of this settlement at the outbreak of the Revolution. The Moravian population increased rapidly by means of increasing immigrants.

During this last period the whole province grew with marve-Settlers poured into the middle and western lous rapidity. parts which were still very thinly settled. The eastern part of the colony grew rapidly also. During a single year no less than eleven hundred²⁹ families of Scotch Highlanders landed at Wilmington and went up into the interior. Scotch, Scotch-Irish, and English and Germans from more thickly settled provinces, flowed steadily into the province. There was no sort of persecution to fear. On the other hand there was abundance of good land at very cheap rates. Towards the latter part of the period during Tryon's administration the people in the western counties suffered severely from high taxes, corrupt officials, and the lack of an easily accessible market for their produce. This led to the rebellion by the Regulators. The flow of immigration was not seriously affected by this, however. Settlers began, during this period, to cross the mountains in considerable numbers and settle in Tennessee, so that at the outbreak of the

²⁷Martin, Appendix LXVIII. ²⁸Ashe, p. 416.

Revolution there were several thousand persons in that part of North Carolina.

At the beginning of the Revolution there were in North Carolina about 150,000 people.³⁰ A large majority of these lived in the eastern part of the state, about three-fourths. The new counties, Rowan and Cumberland, 1754; Dobbs and Halifax, 1758; Hertford, 1759; Pitt, 1760; Mecklenburg, 1762; Brunswick, 1764, Chatham, Guilford, Surry, Wake, and Tryon, 1768; were formed during this period. There were several little towns in the province that are worthy of notice. Wilmington and New Bern were the most important. Bath and Edenton were other coast towns. There was Campbellton, later Fayetteville, on the Cape Fear. Halifax was important. In the west there were Hillsboro, Salem, Salisbury, and Charlotte. Besides these there were many little villages scattered through the province.

The colonists during this period began to settle in considerable numbers in close proximity to the villages of the Cherokee and Catawba Indians and, indeed, to crowd the territory so that the Indians must necessarily expel the whites or else be crowded westward. At the beginning of this period these Indians were at war, as I have mentioned, with some Indians dwelling further west. The Moravians wrote that bodies of Indians going on the war-path would frequently stop a short time in their city Bethabara, and that they were careful to treat the red men kindly. For a few years the relations between the Cherokee Indians and the settlers continued to be friendly. Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina incensed the Cherokee tribe by holding as hostage thirty chiefs who came to him to make a treaty of peace. A body of Cherokees attempted to liberate the chiefs who were confined in a frontier fort, but these were massacred by the whites, angered because the Indians, having enticed their commander from the fort, treacherously murdered him. The war then became serious. A force of Indians surrounded the frontier fort, Saint George, in South Carolina, starved its garrison into surrender, and then massacred it. In 1761 Colonel Grant of South Carolina³¹ marched with over

²⁰Martin, Vol. II. p. 395. ²⁰Martin, Vol. II. p. 140.

2,000 militia and Indian allies into the Cherokee country. The Indians made one attack upon his force which was repulsed. He then ravaged their territory, destroying many fields of grain and fifteen villages. A reward of five pounds was offered for each scalp. North Carolina did not engage very actively in the war, though Colonel Hugh Waddell with a body of Tuscarora Indians and settlers was a part of the force under Colonel Grant. This war subdued the Indians of the southwest until many years later when they were incited by the English to the Fort Mims and other massacres, after which they were completely reduced to submission by Andrew Jackson. Thus by the beginning of the Revolutionary War almost the whole colony had been wrested from the Indians. They were in strength only in the extreme western part of the province, though a few still remained in the central and eastern parts.

This is the story in brief of the conquest of North Carolina by the white settlers from its Indian inhabitants. A little more than one hundred years had elapsed since Roger Greene made the first permanent settlement within the limits of the present state of North Carolina. Prior to this time the Indians alone had inhabited that fertile region. They had lived, and that is They progressed not, and so did not produce anything which they could leave as a valuable inheritance for humanity. They did not develop that which nature gave them. their bows and arrows for weapons; their skins of beasts for clothing and shelter; and their game, nuts, and vegetables very little domesticated for food, they had just what nature gave them and in the same primitive form of their forefathers for ages gone by. It was not in the nature of the progress of the world for such a people to occupy so fair a portion of the earth or even to remain upon it as a check to advancing civilization. And so the civilized and progressive European came to expel them.

All things worked together to overwhelm the poor Indians. They knew not that in Union there is strength and some few farsighted leaders who comprehended the situation could not get the tribes to unite. They fought among themselves, exterminating each other. Some assisted the whites against others.

Their game fled from the sound of the white man's axe and from the sight of his clearings, forcing them to follow. They died from the white man's fire-water, and from his diseases; and, as a climax, when they refused to retreat of their own accord, the whites drove them out by violence, killing many. Theirs is indeed a sad story. It is the story of the struggle of an inferior race with a superior one, together with the uncongenial environment which the superior race created. The result was merely the survival of the stronger and the one best suited to progress, and the rapid decline of that weaker race which was suited only to the life of ages gone by.

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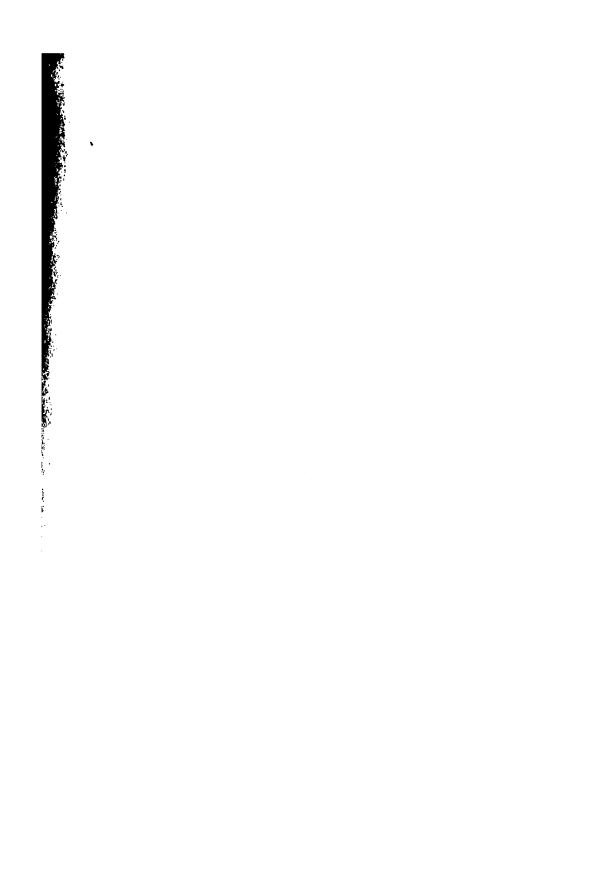
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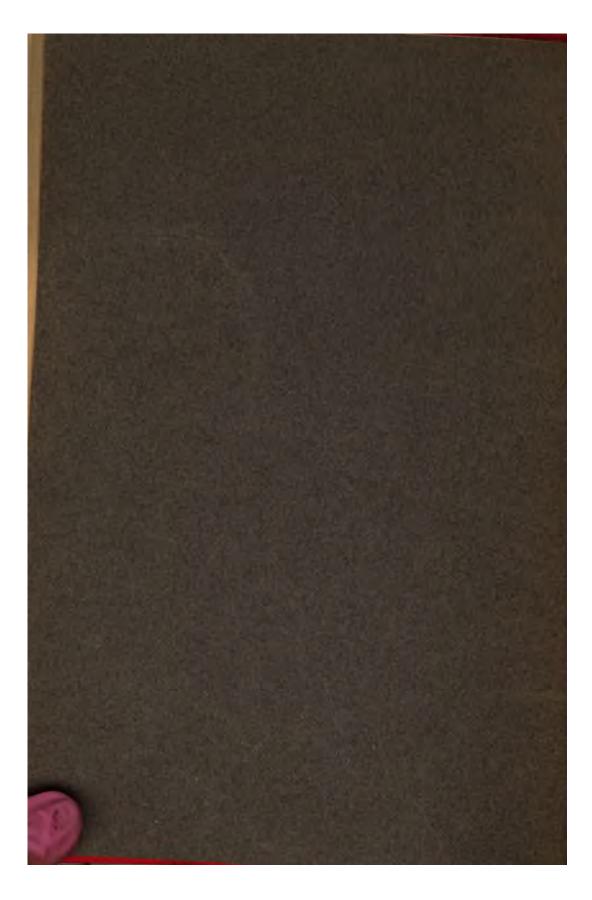
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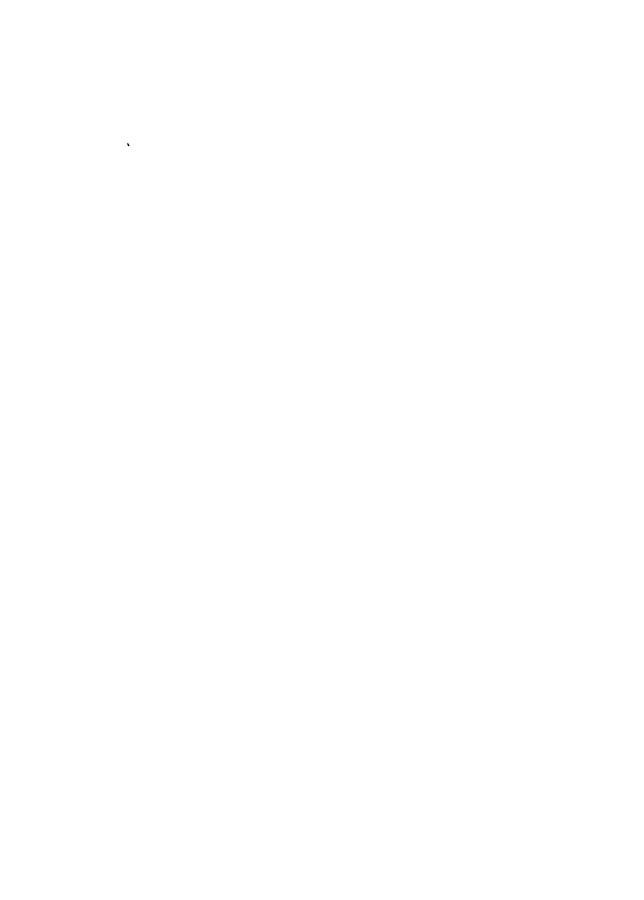
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